DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 439 039 SO 030 777

AUTHOR	Kanter, Leona
TITLE	Forgetting To Remember: Presenting the Holocaust in American College Social Science and History Textbooks. Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminars Abroad Program, 1998 (Hungary/Poland).
SPONS AGENCY	Center for International Education (ED), Washington, DC.
PUB DATE	1998-10-23
NOTE	59p.; For other projects from the 1998 Hungary/Poland program, see SO 030 773-781.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research (143)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Content Analysis; Higher Education; *History Textbooks; Introductory Courses; *Nazism; *Political Science; Social Sciences; *Sociology; Textbook Evaluation; Textbook Research; United States History; World History; *World War II
IDENTIFIERS	Fulbright Hays Seminars Abroad Program; *Holocaust

ABSTRACT

A study followed up and elaborated upon the college textbook section of Glenn S. Pate's (1987) study of "The Holocaust in American Textbooks." After surveying elementary, high school, and some college textbooks to determine both the extent and the nature of their Holocaust coverage, Pate concluded that across the educational spectrum most U.S. textbooks were "woefully inadequate." Combining the quantitative and qualitative instruments of the earlier study to examine the representation of the Holocaust in current college survey texts in social science and history, the present study found that the average college student could complete a variety of "survey" courses in history and social science without seriously confronting the Holocaust. Appendixes list the textbooks examined (sociology, political science, U.S. history, and world history) and provide an analysis of the survey questionnaire. (Contains 4 tables of data and 50 references.) (Author/BT)

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ED 439 039

Forgetting to Remember: Presenting the Holocaust in American College Social Science and History Textbooks

by

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Presented to the Department of Education
Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminars Aboard Program
Polish-U.S. Fulbright Commission
Hungarian-American Commission for Educational Exchange
October 23, 1998

SO 030 777

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Abstract

This study follows up and elaborates upon the college textbook section of Pate's (1987) study of "The Holocaust in American Textbooks." Surveying elementary, high school and some college textbooks to determine both the extent and nature of their Holocaust coverage, Pate concluded that most American textbooks were "woefully inadequate"(309) across the educational spectrum. Combining the quantitative and qualitative instruments of the earlier study to examine the representation of the Holocaust in current college survey texts in social science and history, this researcher found that the average college student could complete a variety of 'survey' courses in history and social science without seriously confronting the Holocaust.

"The struggle of man against power is the struggle
of memory against forgetting."
Milan Kundera

Introduction

For the past four years, I have been teaching a course in the Holocaust as a part of the Senior Capstone Program in the College of Liberal Arts at Mercer University. This interdisciplinary program, a "capstone" to the general education of our students, promotes the critical examination of moral dilemmas emerging from individual and societal relations and the consequences of choice. Taught under the general title of "Man's Inhumanity to Man," my course in the Holocaust is designed to examine "...the systematic, rationalized and bureaucratized effort of Nazi Germany to rid itself and Europe of Jewry" (SCP 455, Syllabus: The Holocaust, 1998). The course and the reading attempt to explain how and why "the final solution" was so successful and, most importantly, the implications of that success for ethnic relations in the late 20th century.

The Problem

One of the problems which emerged early in the teaching of my Holocaust course was the extent of the students' ignorance of the Nazi genocidal effort during WWII. Students were familiar with the Holocaust only because they had read *The Diary of Anne Frank* in their high school years. Readers of "Kitty," Anne Frank's edited diary, know that it ends with the sound of Nazi jackboots charging up the stairs of *Het Achterhius*, "the house behind." Students are generally unaware of Anne's final days of suffering and her death at the Bergen-Belsen (Leona

Kanter and Peter Brown 1996). My students submitted that they had learned very little more about the Holocaust in their college years and expressed serious criticism of an education that left them with so superficial and misleading a picture of the extent and meaning of the Holocaust for the survival of the Jewish people, man's criminal capacity and the death of the Enlightenment dream of reason. Students claimed that their history and social science textbooks speak extensively of Hitler and WWII but rarely focus on the anti-Semitism and carefully crafted, rationalized, Nazi attempt to destroy European Jewry and Jewish culture.

Method

This study represents an elaboration of the college textbook section of Pate's study of Holocaust coverage in elementary, high school and college social science and history survey course textbooks (1987, 239-305). The college section of that study approached textbooks in a strictly discursive style while Pate's general analysis of elementary and high school texts employed the detailed question set below for content analysis. Since the specific details examined in Pate's survey provide a good general snapshot of the nature and extent of textbook representation of the Holocaust, I elected to combine these approaches following the general pattern of Pate's descriptive analysis of college texts while also employing the survey question set developed for the analysis of high school texts. Joined together, these approaches offer a more specific and comprehensive picture of Holocaust coverage than does any one approach.

College textbooks were gathered from faculty in Sociology, Political Science, Western Civilization/World History and American History at Mercer University. According to the teaching faculty in each of these disciplines, these texts fairly represent alternative accepted texts available for classroom use in these disciplines. No specific numerical limits were given to faculty selecting texts nor were faculty restricted by date of publication in the selection of the

texts. They were simply asked to select the "best" general survey books in their fields. All eight of the sociology texts chosen by faculty were published in the 90's (Appendix A), while the other disciplines included some texts published earlier. The American historian included two texts published in the 80's and seven published in the 90's (Appendix B). While seven of the western civilization/world history texts were published in the 90's, one was included from the 80's (Appendix C). Political science faculty demonstrated the greatest variability with one text chosen from 1966, two texts selected from the 70's, two from the 80's and the balance from the 90's. For the purposes of this study, I restricted the texts to the mid-80's and 90's as Pate's study (1987) surveyed college history and social science texts through 1982. Therefore, this study examined thirty-five volumes in the four disciplines of interest.

The first fifteen topics/questions below replicate the survey instrument Pate (1987) developed for the analysis of Holocaust coverage in elementary and, especially, high school social science and history texts (239-240). To this, three new categories, Hungary and Poland and Heroes, were added by this researcher. The latter categories grew out of my experience in the 1998 Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminars in Hungary and Poland and represent the emphasis given by local historians to that event. I generally followed the tallying scheme devised by Pate (1987) which did not include numerical data for items nine (9), ten (10) and fifteen (15). These were handled in a discursive style in my content analysis of the texts. Items sixteen (16) and seventeen (17) were identified but combined in Appendix E.

Survey Questions:

1. What was the total amount of coverage given to the Holocaust?
2. Did the Holocaust coverage receive at least one separate paragraph?
3. What was the coverage of non-Jewish victims?
4. Who caused the Holocaust? Why?
5. What was the coverage of the pre-war period of oppression?

6. Were pictures included?
7. Were particular camps identified?
8. Were the terms genocide or Holocaust used?
9. What was the coverage of resistance to the Holocaust?
10 What was the coverage of Holocaust survivors?
11. Were questions to students or suggested activities given?
12. Were the Nuremberg Trials discussed?
13. Were suggested readings given?
14. Was the tone or the author critical of the events or simple, objective reporting?
15. What was included about the role of the United States relative to the Holocaust?
16. References to Hungarian Jewry and/or Hungarian Holocaust experience?
17. References to Poland, Polish Jewry or the Polish Holocaust experience?
18. References to Heroes or rescuers?

Findings

Sociology

Table 1 Amount of Holocaust Specific Text in sociology survey textbooks*

TEXT Soc	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
# OF LINES	13	0	0	13	5	40	0	2
SEP. PARA	Y			Y	N	Y		N

*** See Appendix A for Sociology Titles examined.**

The analysis of the data reveals a general failure on the part of the authors of sociology textbooks to deal in any meaningful way with the Holocaust. Only one sociology text offered more than 13 lines of text related to the Holocaust and only three treated the Holocaust in separate paragraphs. Three of the sociology texts made absolutely no reference to the Holocaust (Table 1, Appendix E). Of those referring to the experience of European Jews during WWII,

three referred to their systematic murder as genocide while two used both genocide and Holocaust to describe their deaths. No sociology text referred to the concentration camps (Appendix E).

Content Analysis

0001 Applebaum and Chambliss. 1995. *Sociology*.

This sociology text offers its readers thirteen lines in separate paragraphs on the Holocaust. While very limited in number, the sentences do provide some detailed information about the process and consequences of Jewish concentration (in ghettos and camps) and the genocidal policy of the Nazis. The principal groups selected for annihilation - Jews, Gypsies, homosexuals and the "mentally defective" are identified and their fate in the concentration camps in Poland and Germany is described succinctly. The text speaks about the coordinated effort that was required to realize "the final solution" and identifies those in the German hierarchy responsible for the Holocaust. Hannah Arendt's "Banality of Evil" thesis (160-161) is introduced to students as one approach to understanding the ease with which the Nazis accomplished Jewish concentration and extermination. There is also a very brief mention of today's Holocaust deniers and their manipulation of death statistics to refute the testimony of survivors regarding atrocities committed in the camps (246). Applebaum's chapter on "Religion" (433-459), refers to Judaism as "...by far the smallest of the world's major religions" (444) with 14 million adherents worldwide. This text also puts the Jewish diaspora experience in context by rehearsing the historic persecution of Jews (445). This brief but carefully crafted material introduces students not only to the tragic fate of "unwanted" peoples during WWII but to the unique historical experience of the Jews. 'Genocide,' 'Holocaust' and 'see also' references are given to readers to facilitate the identification of relevant text (I 115,116).

0004 Kendall, Diana. 1999. *Sociology in Our Times*.

Although the word 'Holocaust' is not used in the discussion, Kendall's *Sociology in Our Times* (1999) devotes thirteen lines in two separate paragraphs to the Holocaust. In one instance, the author defines genocide and says, "Examples of genocide include the killing of thousands of Native Americas by white settlers in North America and the extermination of six million Jews by Nazi Germany" (260). The other references made to Jews are in her chapter on "Race and Ethnicity" and are related to anti-Semitism in the United States (277). As regards Jewish immigration to the United States, Kendall simply says, "Between 1880 and 1920, over two million Jewish immigrants arrived in the United States and settled in the Northeast" (277). No reference is made to the quota rules imposed to prevent Jewish immigration to the United States in the 30's and 40's nor to the wave of Jewish refugees to the United States after liberation. Kendall does not make reference to the forcible turning away of the *St. Louis* from the United States by the American Coast Guard which resulted in the return of its Jewish refugees to Europe and to their eventual death at Auschwitz as Europe was overrun by Nazi forces.

0005 Renzetti and Curran, 1998. *Living Sociology*.

In their "Race and Ethnicity" chapter, Renzetti and Curran (1998) do not use the word "Holocaust" but employ the Jewish experience once again as an example of genocide. In an attempt to not only describe the phenomena but provide a rationale for Nazi atrocities, they say, "When we think of genocide, we think of Adolf Hitler's Nazi Germany. In an attempt to establish an "Aryan Nation," the Nazi regime systematically murdered more than six million Jews and other "non-Aryans" people such as the Romany (commonly referred to as "Gypsies") between 1933 and 1945" (292). Their only other references to Jews is in their chapter on "Religion" (445-467). Here Renzetti and Curran say that Judaism is significant in America because of "... the large number of Jews that live in the United States-about 2% of the U. S.

population" (457). This researcher is baffled that so minute a portion of the U. S. population should be described as "a large number." Renzetti and Curran cannot count.

0006 Schaefer and Lamm. 1998. *Sociology*.

The researcher found that Schaefer and Lamm's *Sociology* (1998) provides the most extensive coverage of the Holocaust, it origins, history, and significance for Jews and societal life in general, in this group of sociology texts. The text introduces Holocaust related materials in a wide variety of chapters and contexts. Students first encounter it in a lengthy box entitled "Current Research: Framing Survey Questions About the Holocaust" (46) where polling data is given regarding the knowledge of the American population about the number of Jews murdered during the Holocaust. The unfortunate wording of a polling question about the numbers killed seemed to suggest there might be some doubt about the authenticity of the accepted number of six million thus raising great controversy upon the publication of the poll's findings. Here the text speaks about faulty question design and how the polling data might be used by Holocaust deniers while making clear to students that there is no such 'credible' doubt. It also refers to the growing visibility and knowledge of the Holocaust that has resulted from the opening of the Holocaust Museum in Washington, D. C., and the worldwide screening of Steven Spielberg's popular film, *Schindler's List*.

There are five subsequent areas in *Sociology* where students continue their encounter with the Holocaust. The section dealing with the sociological concept of "role conflict" speaks about the moral choices confronting Christians electing to fulfill their obligations to the State or roles as the friends and neighbors of terrorized Jews (131). This section also deals with the role of Nazi propaganda tools and techniques developed and used to demonize Jews and to sustain the climate of anti-Semitism necessary for the success of Nazi extermination policies.

The famous Milgram experiment on "Obedience to Authority" (Milgram 1973) has traditionally been a place in a sociology text where students learn about the Holocaust. All of the sociology texts reviewed for this study discuss the Milgram experiment but, with the exception of this text, fail to make any connection between the experiment and the Holocaust. Schaefer and Lamm introduce Milgram's research as "...an experimental study of obedience to better understand the involvement of the Germans in the extermination of 6 million Jews and millions of other people during WWII" and quote Milgram saying "...if a system of death camps were set up in the United States of the sort we had seen in Nazi Germany, one would be able to find sufficient personnel for those camps in any Medium-sized American town" (188: cited from CBS News, 1979:7-8). The latter quotation is sure to gain the attention of students and provide the basis for heated class discussion about the American national character.

The subject of anti-Semitism and scapegoating in *Sociology* (311) returns the student to the subject of the Holocaust but, oddly enough, the work of Adorno and Horkheimer on *The Authoritarian Personality* (Adorno et al. 1950) is not related to the Holocaust. Like many of the other sociology texts in this study, this valuable study linking fascism, anti-Semitism and socialization has been recast such that no reference is made of its relationship to fascism. This link to the Holocaust seems oddly missing in a text otherwise so informative and sensitive to the Holocaust.

In their chapter devoted to "Religion" (413-428), Schaefer and Lamm refer to the potential dysfunctions of religion and say that intolerance and injustice can emerge from strongly felt religious loyalties. They use the Holocaust as an example of the consequence of religious intolerance when aligned with State interests. Under the exclusive heading "genocide" (I 705), Schaefer and Lamm discuss civil liberties and hate speech, particularly on the Internet, for the dissemination of genocidal messages against the Jews (623). Additionally, of the eight sociology

texts examined here, only Schaefer and Lamm's *Sociology* suggests further reading on the Jewish Holocaust experience (317).

0008 Thio, Alex. 1996. *Sociology*.

Alex Thio's text, *Sociology* (1996), says the following in the two lines it gives to the experience of the Jews during WWII. "Between 1933 and 1945, the Nazis systematically murdered six million Jews" (278). However, it was the only sociology volume which included a WWII related picture. That photograph is of the passing of Nazi troops before Hitler and is included in a section which discusses the definition and significance of the term "cultural relativism." In part, the caption reads as follows, "But we can still condemn the Nazi practice of exterminating Jews because cultural relativism requires only understanding a culture on its own terms, not also abandoning our moral conscience" (68). Incidentally, the reader must look under "Genocide" or "Nazi Germany" in the book's index to locate the photograph as there is no Holocaust subject heading in the index of the text.

No mention of the Holocaust was made in the background discussion of Jewish immigration to the United States in the section of Thio's chapter on "Race and Ethnicity" devoted to Jewish Americans (274-275). Instead, their immigration experience was described in the text as a response to the "*pogroms* (massacres) they had faced in Europe" (274). No dates or further information are available to identify the extent and perpetrators of these *pogroms*. Further along in the chapter, Thio includes a photograph of a contemporary Gypsy family with the attached text, "Gypsies in Eastern Europe were among those whom Nazis systematically murdered during World War II. Wholesale killing of a racial or ethnic group is called genocide" (279). The horrific assault upon the Gypsy population of Europe cannot be diminished; however, the researcher was struck by the vocabulary employed to discuss the systematic effort of the Nazis to eliminate Gypsies and Jews from Europe (279). The authors use

genocide in one instance and *pogroms* in the other. Are we not speaking of the same phenomena? Fascist ideology and Hitler's genocidal effort in Europe also appear misplaced in a sociological discussion of "cultural relativism."

Political Science

Table 2 Amount of Holocaust Specific Text in Political Science Survey textbooks*

TEXT P. Sci	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
# OF LINES	0	0	0	0	13	33	17	67	0	33
SEP. PARA					Y	Y	Y	Y		Y

*** See Appendix B for Political Science titles examined**

Reviewing the political science data, one immediately sees that five of the ten introductory political science texts made no mention of the Holocaust. However, in those texts which do address the Jews and/or the Holocaust, a greater number of lines have been generally dedicated to the subject than was the case with sociology textbooks (Table 1). Yet one can easily confuse coverage with subject headings. As Pate (1987), the author of the earlier study warned, and my own research reveals, a simple line count is insufficient to determine whether the text indeed speaks to the issue at hand. For example, Roskin's, *Political Science: An Introduction*, (1997) has sixty-seven (67) lines of text in reference to Jews and, thus, would seem to provide the best coverage of the Holocaust. However, the Holocaust related lines in Roskin are scattered throughout the book and refer to such different phenomena as civil liberties and the Jewish Defense League (53), Fascism and Hitler's dream of a *Lebensraum* or living space for the Aryan race (113-114), the history of the Jewish American vote in the United States (151), the influence of Jewish Americans on Israeli and U. S. politics (161) and, finally,

the size and membership of Jewish American political action committees (193). Only the section on "Fascism" has any reference to the Holocaust and that reference is embodied in two lines of text which say, "Jews and Slavic peoples were simply exterminated. Nazi death camps killed some 6 million Jews and a similar number of Christians who were in the way" (114). This page also includes a picture of the gateway to Auschwitz with its infamous motto, *Arbeit Mach Frei* (114). The authors tell the student that the sign was designed to mislead camp inmates into thinking they were going to work rather than to the gas chambers. It is interesting to note that, like the sociology texts examined above, little reference was made to the gas chambers in these texts. Only two texts mentioned specific concentration camps (Appendix E).

Not even *The New World Of Politics* (1991) which boasts fourteen references to "Jews" in its index (I 545), the greatest number of such references in any of the political science survey texts, provides further activities, questions or additional reading on the subject. There is also no subject heading for genocide or Holocaust in the index of the text. Indeed, this study reveals there doesn't appear to be any generally accepted subject heading for the discussion of the Holocaust in social science or history books. More surprising is the absence of any reference to the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials in this and other political science texts (Appendix E). Most of the authors of political science and other texts offer a specific definition of genocide for their readers and then proceed to use it interchangeably with 'Holocaust' depending upon the group under discussion. For example, the slaughter of the Armenians by the Turkish government is always described as a genocide.

While few rescuers are mentioned at all in any of the books in this study, Oscar Schindler is mentioned as a hero or rescuer in one political science text (Appendix E). No mention is made of the more prominent Swedish diplomat, Raoul Wallenberg, who saved thousands of Hungarian Jews, or Janusz Korczak, the heroic director of a children's orphanage in the Warsaw

Ghetto who, when given an opportunity to leave Poland and save himself, chose to die at Auschwitz with his frightened young Jewish charges rather than to abandon them to Nazi terror.

Content Analysis

0013 Lawson. 1993. *The Human Polity*.

The Human Polity (Lawson 1993) contains no subject index for the Holocaust or genocide. The subject heading "Jews" has a 'see also Israel' reference (I 599). The only picture with relevance to Jews in this text is of Jewish Americans waving Israeli paper flags at a prayer vigil outside of the Israeli Embassy in Washington, D. C. (153). All materials relevant to the Holocaust are included, though not specified in the book's index, under "National Socialists (Nazis)" (I 602). One brief Holocaust related section of this text consists largely of a string of anti-Semitic quotations from Hitler on the subject of Jewish racial inferiority (82). *The Human Polity*, at least in regards to Holocaust coverage, is a poor text with little discussion or analysis given to Holocaust issues or to any specific examples of the realities of Hitler's Reich.

0014 Magstadt and Schotten. 1993. *Understanding Politics*.

The student's first encounter with the Holocaust in *The Study of Politics* (Magstadt and Schotten (1993) is indexed under "Holocaust-and morality of participants" (I 594). The Holocaust is described in the text as a "Negative Example" [of the morality of participants]. The authors provide a lengthy analysis of the ideology of the Nazi regime and its meaning for the construction of moral character and a W*eltanschauung* (worldview) which encouraged public collaboration with the Nazis in 'the final solution.' They say, "Allegedly, Jews represented the greatest threat to "Aryan purity," and approximately six million of them were killed in cold blood " (22). They further point out that the Nazis were "So intent ...on carrying out their 'final solution' to the alleged problem of racial contamination that in the closing months of World

War II, extermination camps continued their operations at the expense of Germany's military campaigns" (22). This material gives the student a picture of the commitment of the Nazis to the death of European Jewry and other 'contaminators' of the 'Aryan' race. The balance of this interesting discussion is dedicated to the specific moral character of Albert Speer and Adolf Eichmann, two of the architects of Nazi destruction. As in the aforementioned texts, Hannah Arendt's "Banality of Evil" thesis is used to analyze the character of the these "true believers" (23). Irving Kristol's work on "moral indifference" is also invoked as an explanation for 'good people who do dirty work' (23). In Eichmann's case, the dirty work was organizing the systematic extermination of Jews. They quote the following from Kristol's essay, "The Nature of Nazism" (in Podhoretz 1965),

> We expect to find evil men, paragons of wickedness, slobbering, maniacal brutes; we are prepared to trace the lineament of The Nazi on the face of every individual Nazi in order to define triumphantly the essential features of his character. But the Nazi leaders were not diabolists, they did not worship evil...it is the cast of moral indifference that makes them appear so petty and colorless and superficial (22).

The text uses these examples to discuss our susceptibility to inhumane acts in the name of corporate or cultural necessity. Under "Germany and Hitler" (69-72), the text rehearses the implementation of Hitler's genocidal ideology in all of Germany's principal institutions. It does an excellent job of describing how Hitler's program of mass indoctrination made palatable his murderous racial policies (71). One page includes a stark photograph of naked, starving, male inmates in their overcrowded concentration camp bunks (71). The photo's caption speaks about Hitler's desire to create a racially pure Aryan community and says some, "5-6 million European Jews perished in Nazi death camps" (71). The text also includes a photograph of a Hitler rally revealing the lavish nature of these heroic displays of Hitlerian and Nazi might (59).

The pictures serve the text and reader well by highlighting the excited and enthusiastic tone of these spectacles.

Once again, the real difficulties of a line or word count as a measure of utility and/or meaning reveal themselves here. *Understanding Politics* provides a fine, concentrated, analysis and discussion of the events which precipitated the Holocaust as compared with the failure of the earlier mentioned Roskin text (1997) to tell this story in many more words and lines.

0015 Reimer and Simon. 1991. *The New World of Politics.*

Students commence their reading about the Holocaust in *The New World of Politics* (Reimer and Simon 1991) with a comprehensive analysis of the historical roots and evolution of "The Nazi Variety of Fascism" (192-200). The subsection dedicated to "Racial Superiority and Anti-Semitism" (197) does a good job of bringing together all the strands of that material in the implementation of 'the final solution.' However, while this text specifies that Jews were exterminated, it also says, "...gypsies, the mentally ill, slave laborers from Slavic countries-were also treated cruelly and barbarically" (197). Unfortunately, this may suggest to naive students that these groups were not subject to extermination and that their deaths may not have been planned and systematic. The next reference to European Jewry in *The New World of Politics* is in the context of "The Idiosyncratic Actor Model" (361) which raises the question of whether the Holocaust could or would have happened without Hitler or Hitler's fanatical obsession with the Jews. This is an iteration of the "Great Man Theory of History" and appears to contradict the authors earlier careful analysis of the roots of Nazi ideology and action (111). There are several interesting sentences in the Reimer and Simon text which, while addressing the moral and legal limits of government, employ the Holocaust as an example of human rights issues surrounding wars of liberation and/or self-defense (386). The last reference to the Holocaust in this text concerns the liberation of the concentration camps by the Allies and their eyewitness reports of

the extent of the atrocities committed there (411). The emphasis in this whole section is on widening ethical consciousness regarding human rights violations around the world. It appears that the Holocaust is often used in political science texts to highlight the immoral aspects of contemporary ethnic conflicts.

0018 Van Dyke. 1992. *Introduction to Politics.*

Introduction to Politics by Vernon Van Dyke (1992) is the only political science text encountered in this study that described six million Jews as "...being deliberately killed in extermination camps in Dachau and Auschwitz" and further declaring, "This was the Holocaust" (378). Strangely enough, the first mention of the Holocaust in this text describes it correctly as the Nazi effort to exterminate "...the Jews and certain other unwanted groups-the most sweeping program of genocide in history" but goes on to incorrectly state that "The program lead to the death of six million persons" (147). Clearly, Jews and 'persons' killed are not one and the same thing. The historical record reveals that eleven million 'persons' died in the Holocaust. Although Dachau and Auschwitz are referred to in this text, no general map of the concentration camps is offered in this or any other political science textbook. These notorious places have been completely overlooked by most of the other political science texts reviewed here (Appendix E).

American History

Table 3 Amount of Holocaust Related Text in American History survey textbooks*

TEXT A. Hist	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
# OF LINES	0	22	36	89	89	175	114	53	32
SEP. PARA		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

***See Appendix C for texts examined**

For the millions of men and women who fought in WWII and for the 'home folks' who lived with rationing and the daily terror of lost husbands and sons, the conduct and consequences of the war were critically important. To the American Jewish community the decision of the Roosevelt Administration to resist its demands for the bombing of the rail lines taking Europe's Jews to Auschwitz and other death camps, to resist raising U. S. quotas for Jewish immigrants, and the turning away of the *St. Louis*, escalated the pace of Jewish destruction. In his book on America's role in the Holocaust, historian David Wyman (1984) charges that America abandoned European Jewry at the most crucial hour of its history. Given the seriousness of Wyman's charge regarding America's responsibility for Jewish deaths, this researcher felt it necessary to examine the representation of our role in the Holocaust in American history texts. -

Whatever one's position with regard to the (in)action of the Roosevelt Administration on behalf of saving Jews and others from the Nazis, the researcher found that American history texts generally do a more credible job of reviewing issues surrounding the Holocaust for their student readers than do most of the sociology and political science books examined for this project.

Content Analysis

0019 Bernard et al. 1993. *Firsthand America*.

Bernhard opens a lengthy chapter on "Diplomacy and War: 1933-1945" (1993) with a dramatic re-telling of the story of *Kristallnacht*, the Nazi organized "night of broken glass," which presaged the violence to come (780). In the following two and one-half pages, this text recounts the story of the Holocaust including a critical analysis of the failure of the Roosevelt administration, the Congress, and the American public to respond to known atrocities being perpetuated against Jews and other 'undesirable populations' by the Nazis. Countering the general belief that little or nothing was known in America about the murders in Europe, Bernard says,

> American religious and civic groups and hundreds of newspapers demanded that something be done. German propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels replied cooly to worldwide protests: "if there is any country that believes it has not enough Jews, I shall gladly turn over to it all of our Jews." The United States government resorted with a mild diplomatic gesture of calling back its ambassador to Germany "for consultation" (a gesture less serious than a formal recall.) President Roosevelt expressed his shock at a news conference, but was evasive on the question of whether the United States would accept more refugees. Trade with the Third Reich continued (780).

The next two paragraphs of Bernard's book detail Congressional debates about amending U. S. immigration laws to allow for increased Jewish immigration. Particular emphasis is placed on some legislative efforts to save Jewish children. In the course of these debates, Republican Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio is quoted denouncing 'child exemptions' to U. S. immigration law. Instead of bringing Jewish children to America, Taft said, "20,000 American children could profit if such nice homes were available" (780). Bernard goes on to say, "Despite Roosevelt's genuine concern over the fate of all of central and eastern European Jewry, whose

future he described at this very time as "exceedingly dark," he let the Refugee Bill and many of the refugees die" (780). Bernard concludes this discussion with the following lengthy paragraph.

> The United States never met Goebbels's challenge. The American public believed not only that it had enough Jews, but that it had more than enough aliens in general. Not until 1944 did American policy against the atrocities become vigorous, and by then there were pathetically few refugees to save. In December 1944, after American troops had already reached some of the death camps, a public opinion poll showed that most American still believed that the Nazis had killed fewer than 100,000 Jews instead of some six million-or probably more-Jews, gypsies and homosexuals. The United States admitted 250,000 Jewish refugees in the entire period. The American government which made military detours to preserve the art of the Japanese city of Kyoto and the architecture of the German city of Rothenburg, sent no bombers to destroy the ovens at Dachau and Auschwitz or train trackage to them, although the administration had evidence available that amply suggested what the ovens were being used for (781).

The authors pull no punches in this text. They strip away any myths about American ignorance of the concentration camps. Yet in a chapter filled with a variety of WWII related photographs, not a single photograph of a camp or its liberation is shown. There is a map of the European Theater of Operations from 1942-1945 (806) in this section but it does not include any notation regarding the location of the concentration camps. Additionally, this book makes no mention of the doomed refugees aboard the *St. Louis* who believed they had escaped the horrors of the camps only to meet American indifference to their plight.

0020 Boyer. 1995. *Promises to Keep*.

Boyer's *Promises to Keep* (1995), which focuses on America since WWII, begins with a chapter entitled, "World War II and the Forging of Modern America" (4-36). Boyer devotes two paragraphs to the Holocaust in this section briefly rehearsing the tragic failure of the American government and public to respond to the Jewish crisis in Europe. Additionally, he says that the

atrocities being committed by the Nazis, "...received only muted and fragmentary coverage in the American press, including such leading papers as *The New York Times*" (23). This contradicts Bernard's (1993) contention "...that hundreds of newspapers demanded that something be done" (780). Boyer describes legislators as stonewalling on life preserving measures and quotes the American poet John Dos Passos saying, "...the only hope of preserving a sense of humanity as the tide of atrocities mounted lay in the frail rail web of understanding of one person for the pain of another" (24). Boyer follows up Dos Passos concluding, "...the years when the Nazis and their collaborators systematically tried to exterminate Europe's Jews that web of understanding, tragically, failed to develop in America" (24). I've quoted this passage because it highlights American indifference to, and complicity in, the tragedy that befell European Jewry. Boyer does not suggest any additional reading to broaden student understanding of this period. As one can readily see, *Promises to Keep* takes a very critical stance toward American non-involvement in the Holocaust.

0021 Henretta et al. 1993. *America's History*.

The subject index of *America's History* (Henretta et al, 1993) cross references the Holocaust with "persecution of the Jews" under the heading "Germany" (I 12). A single line makes reference to Jewish persecution under a discussion of the "Failure to Appeasement" (820). The major discussion of 'the final solution' occurs later in the text under the specific heading, "The Holocaust" (840). The authors are highly critical of American policy towards the plight of the Jews. In the three paragraphs they devote to the subject, they say, "The Roosevelt administration, for example, had reliable information about the death camps as early as November, 1942" (840) and "...it is hard to escape the conclusion that the United States could have done more-much more-to lessen the Holocaust's terrible human toll" (841). They include a Margaret Burke-White photograph of camp inmates in their striped uniforms standing behind a

barbed wire fence with the caption, "The Living Dead" (841). The photograph is somewhat misleading as these inmates appear well clothed and relatively healthy. Their striped uniforms bear no sign of wear and tear and their bodies and faces are not shrunken from starvation. No mention is made of when and where the photograph was taken but it appears posed and does not seem to represent the true state of camp inmates upon their liberation. In the annotated bibliography that ends the chapter, Henretta refers students to Wyman's, *The Abandonment of the Jews* (1984), for further reading. Once again, the map of the European Theater does not indicate the presence or location of concentration camps in Europe or 'the East' (Appendix E).

0022 Lafeber, Walter. 1989. *The American Age.*

Holocaust scholars, Deborah Lipstadt (1986) and David Wyman (1984) are cited in the seven paragraphs of text Lafeber (1989) gives to his discussion of the Holocaust in *The American Age* (368-369). Lipstadt and Wyman are acknowledged experts on the role of the American media in the Holocaust and LaFeber briefly reviews their work to recount that story. The text also critically examines the role of Jewish members of the Roosevelt administration who were fearful of being thought "too Jewish" if they pressed for some action against the Nazi killing (68) and points to the unwillingness of the leaders of the American Jewish community to maximize the visibility of the atrocities in Europe because of their fear of escalating American anti-Semitism and division over the course and pace of American political action regarding Palestine. Although his discussion of this issue may be brief, Lafeber is highly critical of American and European Jewish inaction during this period. He sums up his discussion of the period citing Wyman's (1984) critical assessment of Roosevelt, "FDR's indifference to...the systematic annihilation of European Jewry emerges as the worst failure of his presidency" (369).

In his section on "The Lessons of the 1930's" (385-486), Lafeber makes no reference to the Holocaust. Instead the author links such 'undemocratic' practices as Roosevelt's attempt to

pack the Supreme Court to actions taken by Lyndon Johnson during the Vietnam War era (386). The Nuremberg Laws restricting Jewish participation in social life are referred to in a single sentence in this text (366) but there is no discussion of the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials. Again, no mention is made of the voyage of the *St. Louis* to these shores.

0023 Norton et al. 1994. *A People and a Nation*.

In contrast to all of the texts examined above, the *St. Louis* has a prominent place in *A People and A Nation* (Norton et al. 1994). In a single paragraph, the authors describe the unwillingness of the U. S. Congress and nation to open American doors to Jewish immigration during WWII. In fact, they analyze the quota situation saying anti-Semitism and the fear that new immigrants would challenge Americans for scarce jobs were at the root of the Jewish quota problem (843-844). Norton says, "From 1933 to 1945, less than 40 percent of the German-Austrian immigration quota was filled. In effect, German and Austrian Jews were being refused immigration because they were Jews not because they represented a "flood" of alien immigration" (843). The text says that "...the tragic voyage of the *St. Louis* did not change government policy" (843) and includes this quote from *The New York Times*, "The cruise of the *St. Louis* cries to high heaven of man's inhumanity to man" (844). Interestingly, the Norton text castigates such Jewish members of the administration as Henry Morgenthau, the Secretary of the Treasury, for their reluctance to move Roosevelt on the refugee issue while simultaneously quoting a Morgenthau memo charging the State Department with being an accessory to murder. Morgenthau's message reads, "It takes months and months to grant the visa and then it usually applies to a corpse" (844). Continuing in the same critical tone, the authors say,

> American officials had waited too long to act, and they also missed a chance to destroy the gas chamber and ovens at the extermination camp at Auschwitz in Poland. They possessed aerial photographs and diagrams of the camp, but they argued that bombing it would

> detract from the war effort or prompt the Germans to step up the anti-Jewish terror. In 1944, American planes bombed factories in the industrial sector of Auschwitz, only five miles from the gas chambers and crematoria (844).

Norton's section on the Holocaust ends with the question that continues to haunt us, namely, "How could it be that Government officials knew that a place existed where 2,000 helpless human beings could be killed in less than an hour, knew that this occurred over and over again, and yet did not feel driven to search for some way to wipe such a scourge from the earth?" (844).

A People and A Nation also contains a gruesome post-liberation photograph from the British Imperial War Museum of a mass grave at the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp near Hanover, Germany. In part, its caption reads, "...the remains of thousands of Holocaust victims who had been starved, gassed, and machine-gunned by their Nazi jailers. This photograph and many others provide irrefutable proof of the Holocaust's savagery" (845). There is also a striking color photograph of Hitler surrounded and celebrated by Nazi SS which quotes Hitler, "...denouncing the United States as a 'Jewish rubbish heap' of inferiority and decadence that was incapable of conducting war" (801).

Although the text on the Holocaust in *A People and A Nation* is relatively brief, it is succinct on the subject of American inaction regarding the Jews. Like all but one of the other texts in this section, no mention is made of the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials (Appendix E). The only map of European military operations appears earlier than the above noted discussion in the text (806) and, once again, does not detail the presence of concentration camps in Europe. No further reading on the Holocaust is suggested in the book's general bibliography.

0024 Paterson et al. 1988. *American Foreign Policy*.

Paterson (1988) offers the longest treatment of the Holocaust in a chapter tellingly entitled. "Witness to the Holocaust: Americans and the Plight of the European Jews" (401-404). This text does an excellent job rehearsing the escalation of Nazi violence against European Jewry. It provides coverage of the Nuremberg Laws, *Kristallnact*, the creation of the concentration camps, Congressional and public opposition to assisting Jewish victims, the denial of the *St. Louis* to a U. S. port, lobbying on the part of the AF of L and 'patriotic' groups against Jewish immigration and the role played by America's infamous radio priest, Father Coughlin, in feeding American anti-Semitism. An American Diplomat, George Messersmith, is described as opposing the creation of the establishment of a University of Exile at the New School of Social Research because, "...he feared that Jews hired there would undermine the basic Anglo-Saxon Protestant nature of American society" (402). Paterson reveals that such powerful persons as Breckenridge Long blocked "...numerous private effort to the save them [Jews] and actually suppressed information about Hitler's plan to exterminate Jews" (403). The book details the murder of Jews rounded up from all corners of Europe and Russia and gives students a great deal of information about the Holocaust in a relatively brief section. Interestingly, it quotes the same Morgenthau memo cited by Lafeber (1989), and repeats a variation of the above quoted question about American behavior toward Jews and the failure of Roosevelt to come to their rescue.

American Foreign Policy includes a photograph of anguished inmates upon their liberation from the Wobbelin concentration camp (404). The Nuremberg Trials also receive a passing reference in an early portion of the text dealing with the Kellogg-Brand Treaty (316). A student reading *American Foreign Policy* encounters many of the realities of the Holocaust as Paterson reviews the historic record of the period more thoroughly than does any other text in this group of books.

0025 Roark et al. 1998. *The American Promise.*

On page 1006 of *The American Promise* (Roark et al. 1998), history students encounter a two page special insert on the historical question, "Why Did the Allies Refuse to Bomb the Death Camps?" The section re-tells the sorry story of the Holocaust in some detail putting great emphasis on the unwillingness of Allied government officials to believe stories of Nazi atrocities. Several officials are cited to this effect (1007). The section also includes a photograph of Senator Alben Barkley of Kentucky standing over a pile of shriveled, naked, dead bodies after the liberation of Buchenwald trying to "...comprehend the incomprehensible" (1007). Speaking about Jewish resistance, Roark notes the heroism of camp inmates who dynamited one of the crematoria at Auschwitz (007). He says, "Immediately the women were hanged and the men shot, their heroic act unknown to those who dared not send bombers instead" (1007). Roark's tone is clearly condemnatory of American indifference to inmate suffering. However, the text includes only the usual map of the European military campaigns without any reference to the camps (1008).

Roark's chapter on "The United States and the Second World War, 1939-1945" (977-1018) makes almost no reference to European Jewry. Although Roark takes a generally factual approach in his recitation of American diplomacy and our shift from isolationism to involvement in WWII, he has elected to open the chapter with a troubling story about the American hero Charles Lindbergh as he stood to make a pro-isolationist speech at an 'America First' rally in Des Moines, Iowa, on September 1, 1941. Roark describes the excitement of the waiting crowd and the general anti-War climate in the country. A known anti-Semite, Lindbergh is described by the Secretary of the Interior, Harold Ickes, as "America's No.1 Nazi fellow traveler" (977). Ickes is quoted saying, "No one has ever heard Lindbergh utter a word of horror at, or even aversion to the bloody career that the Nazis are following, nor a word of

pity for the innocent men, women and children who have been deliberately murdered by the Nazis" (977). The text also quotes Roosevelt as having told his Jewish Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Morgenthau, "...that Lindbergh is a Nazi" (977). To be sure, this is a shocking introduction to this American hero and the 'historic question' about Allied indifference to Jewish suffering asked above. The chapter contains no other reference to the Jews or to the Holocaust.

Unlike any of the other texts in this section, the bibliography of *The American Promise* contains a separate section on "America and the Holocaust" (1019) containing eight references for further reading by interested students. However, it does not contain a general European Theater map with camps labeled for students nor does it make reference to the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials (Appendix E).

0026 Schaller et al. 1996. *Present Tense.*

Schaller, Scharff and Schulzinger devote six paragraphs in *Present Tense* (1996) to a review of the Holocaust briefly chronicling such precipitating events as *Kristallnact*. Their overall treatment of the Holocaust is very superficial. They make no textual reference to the concentration camps although they include the often seen Bergen-Belsen photograph of a pit filled with dead bodies in their book (36). They make no reference to the Allied failure to bomb the railways or crematoria or to Roosevelt's knowledge of the atrocities being perpetrated in the camps. Unlike the critical authors of most of the American history texts reviewed here, these authors take an apologetic tone toward Roosevelt's unwillingness to change U. S. quota policy to aid Jewish refugees saying, "Roosevelt's failure to champion the cause of Jewish refugees must be seen in light of the strong American sentiment favoring less, not more, support for Jews" (36). The book contains no further information or bibliographic references for interested students. Readers of this text are not given a clear picture of the Nazi assault on the Jews or the moral and political significance of the Holocaust for the Cold War.

0027 Tindall and Ship. 1996. *America: A Narrative History.*

The last book in this American history section, *America: A Narrative History* (Tindall and Shipp 1996), contains two sparse paragraphs on the Holocaust in its two chapters on America and WWII (1203-1281). Out of its thirty WWII related cartoons and photographs, only one photograph is related to the Holocaust. It reveals a sad but well dressed inmate leaning over an inmate companion. He, too, is fully clothed. They are clearly being taken care of by Wobbelin's Russian liberators (1276). The text offers virtually no details regarding the circumstances of Jewish inmates upon their liberation or the atrocities committed in the camp. Instead, it focuses on German pre-War economic issues and, particularly, WWII military campaigns. It offers no further reading on the Holocaust nor does it address any of the moral questions raised in other American history books about Allied inaction. Students reading *America: A Narrative History* will come to see WWII as a matter of strategic battles won and lost in Europe and the Pacific. Other dimensions of the human tragedy played out in Eastern Europe are barely mentioned.

Western Civilization/World History

Table 4 Amount of Holocaust Related Text in Western Civilization Survey Textbooks*

TEXT W.Hist	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
# OF LINES	142	160	58	167	10	295	161	57
SEP. PARA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

***See Appendix D for titles examined**

One can tell from their size (and weight) that the world history texts in this study are tomes that attempt to recount the entire history of Western civilization in a single volume. As

expected, their coverage of the Holocaust is generally more comprehensive and detailed than the texts in any of the social science areas studied here. What is more surprising is what has been left out of so many of these volumes (Appendix E).

Content Analysis

0028 Chambers et al. 1991. *The Western Experience*.

Among its many WWII related photographs, three photographs of the "process" of the final solution are found in *The Western Experience* (Chambers et al. 1991). The first photograph portrays a couple with yellow stars affixed to their coats carrying their possessions through the streets. The caption describes the wearing of the star as "the mildest of the government's discriminatory tactics" (1183). The second photograph is of a German soldier with his raised rifle about to murder a Jewish prisoner near Lodz, Poland. The caption specifies the prisoner is a Jew and says, "The doomed man has had to dig his own grave"(1125). The third photograph shows a group of two hundred German citizens forced by the camp's liberators to observe a mound of corpses inside the Landsberg concentration camp (1239).

In the two chapters devoted to WWII, the Chambers text relates the history of the Holocaust in five long paragraphs; yet it does so in a very informative, concrete and succinct manner. The book details the tortures to which prisoners were subjected, explains the varieties of "stars" affixed to prisoners to identify them as Jews, Jehovah Witnesses, political prisoners, homosexuals or others and, unlike other texts examined in this study, it identifies the corporate interests of I. G. Farben and A. Krupp in the use of slave labor for the production of their goods. It also says, "The extermination camps remain the ultimate nightmare of modern history" (1225) and establishes, as fact, the complicity of "hundreds of thousands of people" (1225) who participated in the process that produced millions of corpses in the death camps. The authors tell the student that, "German clerks and bureaucrats kept elaborate records of names, stolen

possessions, and bodies disposed, of corpses which were stripped of gold fillings and useful hair before being turned to ashes that could be used as fertilizer" (1226). Local townspeople are described as knowledgeable but silent about their death factory neighbors. The Nuremberg Trials take up a paragraph and a photograph of Hermann Goering on the witness stand is included in the text (1240). The section ends as follows, "The appalling revelations of those solemn hearings were nonetheless followed by restrained judgments - only 22 prime defendants were condemned to death, and 3 were acquitted" (1239). Chambers also gives the refugee experience considerable treatment in a section on "Experiences of Daily Life" (1236-1237). A photograph of Jewish refugees en route to Palestine aboard the *Josiah Wedgewood* highlights a section of text describing the tragedy of millions of homeless men, women and children after the War. The authors say that, "By 1960 there were still 32,000 refugees in 107 camps in Europe, sharing tiny quarters and communal toilets. Some had lived in such places for 15 years" (1237). The section ends on a life affirming note saying, "Thanks to something deep in human nature, the concepts of family and loyalty and normal life still appeared to be intact in European society when the great forced movement of populations had subsided" (1237). This fine survey text is critical and accusatory while being factual and explicit.

0029 Greaves et al. 1992. *Civilizations of the West*.

The story of the Warsaw Ghetto and the furious battle waged there by besieged Jews against their German oppressors is recounted in *Civilizations of the West* in a section entitled, "The "Final Solution" and the Holocaust" (Greaves et al. 1992, 925). Included in the section is an eyewitness account of a mass gassing of men, women and children taken from the diary of a German SS officer. It is gruesome in its detail and, tellingly, includes the information that these innocent victims were surrounded by armed Ukrainians who helped to expedite the executions (926). The mention of Ukranian involvement gives the student some sense of the scope of the

complicity of local populations in the destructive process. The pages of this text dedicated to the Holocaust also include a photograph of Germans rounding up Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto (927).

Accompanying her picture in *Civilizations of the West* is the heroic story of Simone Weil, a Frenchwoman of Jewish ancestry, a pacifist turned activist, who joined the resistance to fight against the Nazis (928). Using Weil as an example of those who made the difficult choice to resist during the War years, the section briefly recounts the history of resistance movements and celebrates their struggles. Of Weil, the admiring authors say,

> From the storm of great events, her work and her witness affected only the relatively narrow circle of people who knew her or were touched by her care. Yet her refusal to compromise in any sense with the evil she fought or to accept the least benefit or advantage over the unfortunates who suffered it made her a very special example of people who keep the human spirit alive in dark times (929).

In this section, Greaves refers to the failure of Pope Pius XII to condemn the Nazis even as "Jews were herded into cattle cars in Rome itself for deportation to the death camps" (925). The book makes no mention of the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials or war refugees, but the text has a clearly moral and angry tone. Four books relating to the Holocaust, including a biography of Simone Weil, are recommended for interested readers (942).

0030 McKay et al. 1991. *A History of Western Society*.

The Warsaw Ghetto roundup photograph seen in the Greaves et al. text (1992) discussed above has been enlarged and occupies a larger space in *A History of Western Civilization* (McKay et al. 1991, 948). Only two paragraphs of the text on "Hitler's Empire" (947-948), however, concern the Jewish experience. Most of this small section concerns Hitler's grand plan of enslaving "inferior" Poles, Ukrainians and Russians and the forced relocation of Poles to

Germany to do heavy labor for "the master race." Four books including *Europe Ablaze* (Haestrup 1978), which the authors describe as "a monumental account of wartime resistance movements throughout Europe," and *The Diary of Anne Frank* are suggested for further reading (957). The Nuremberg Laws are mentioned (941) but no mention is made of the Nuremberg Trials or refugees in this book. Additionally, no mention is made of the American or Papal failure to act on behalf of the victims nor is any attention given to local resistance efforts. This text offers a very brief and cursory telling of this tragedy.

0031 Merriman. 1996. *A History of Modern Europe.*

Under the section, "Hitler's New Reich and the Jews" Merriman (1996), outlines the tightening of immigration by the French and British governments to prevent Jewish immigration and, in particular, the recommendation of the Swiss that the Reich stamp all Jewish passports with a "J" so that Jews could be identified and denied entry to Switzerland (1215-1216). The section also carries a photograph of Nazis posting a German sign on the window of a Jewish shop. The sign says, "It is forbidden to buy from this Jewish shop" (1216). The balance of the story of the Holocaust is told a bit later in this text (1259-1264) and describes the tattooing of camp inmates and the "selection" process used in the camps (1261). This text also includes a map identifying a few of the more infamous concentration camps (1261). The map is incorrectly labeled, "Sites of the concentration camps in Europe" (1261). It includes only eighteen of the multitude of camps which made up the extensive network of transit, slave labor, and extermination camps that existed during these years. The label should read, "Some Sites" or "A Few Sites" to make absolutely clear to students the size and scope of the camp system.

It's rather surprising to me that a more detailed map of the concentration camps is not included in this otherwise excellent text. A photograph of Jews being murdered by the local Lithuanian population is also included in the text (1260). This photograph helps students understand the enthusiasm with which local populations greeted 'the final solution' to the Jewish problem.

In contrast to most of the previously discussed books, *Modern Europe* briefly describes the rescue efforts of some individuals and particularly notes the successful effort of the Danish government to save its Jews. Anne Frank's non-Jewish Dutch rescuers are offered as examples of individuals who engaged in heroic acts of resistance to the Nazi onslaught (1261). In a long section on French resistance, no mention is made of the celebrated Protestant villagers of *La Chambon Sur Lignon* who, acting out of their sense of Christian witness and obligation, opened their cellars and barns to Jews seeking refuge from the encroaching Nazis.

The photograph of the Jewish couple with their prominently placed stars seen in Chambers (1991, 1183) has been enlarged and expanded here and shows students the full context of the photograph (1262). One sees that the scene is not of a single displaced couple but of many Jews carrying their hand baggage through the streets of Amsterdam. This caption tell us these Jews are headed to the trains which will take them to concentration camps (1262). The Papacy and the Allied governments are called to moral account by the author for failing to aid victimized Jews. Merriman ends this section of his text bitterly saying, "The Allied governments feared that if too much publicity was given to the disappearance of hundred of thousands of Jews - millions seemed simply too many to believe - it might generate calls to aid them directly. This, they worried, might undercut the united war effort. Hitler's "final solution"- the Holocaust went on until the very end of the war" (1264). No mention is made of the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials

nor is the refugee problem discussed in the text (Appendix E). Four volumes, including the distinguished Holocaust historian Raul Hilberg's, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe, 1933-1945*, are included in the book's bibliography for further reading. Like most of its companion volumes, this text assumes a highly critical and morally outraged tone in its discussion of Allied responsibility for the huge loss of lives in the camps.

0032 Palmer and Colton. 1992. *A History of the Modern World.*

In contrast to its sister volumes Palmer's, *A History of the Western World Since 1815* (1992), devotes a single paragraph to the events of the Holocaust (859). It offers the reader the bare numerical facts about the extent of the killings and identifies a few of the more notorious camps by name. It sums up the Holocaust saying, "Genocide, the planned, systematic effort to destroy a whole people, was the greatest sin of the Nazi sins against humanity" (859). The annotated bibliography, however, has a very long section devoted to the various aspects of the Holocaust (1139-1141). It appears that Palmer and Colton are relying on the text only as a prompt to further reading by the student interested in the events of this period.

0033 Perry et al. 1996. *Western Civilization*.

Accompanying a photograph of the serious, youthful, faces of Hans and Sophie Scholl (Perry et al. 1996, 844-845) *Western Civilization* tells the story of this brother and sister who took it upon themselves to challenge the authority and legitimacy of the Nazis. Founding members of a resistance movement called, "The White Rose," Hans and Sophie were executed in 1943 for their anti-Nazi activities. Theirs is but one story of the general story of resistance offered in this lengthy text. The authors devote two pages to outlining the general resistance efforts of the Poles, Russians, and Yugoslavs and refer to the Danish and French rescue efforts

mentioned above. They also point out that Jews joined resistance movements when and wherever possible and fought valiantly in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (843-844).

Perry (1996) is alone in this group of world history books in directing his and our attention to the moral indifference which facilitated the normalization of the 'abnormal,' systematically organized, and bureaucratically implemented final solution. Referencing Rainer Baum's, "Holocaust: Moral Indifference as a Form of Evil," Perry describes the Nazi perpetrators as, "...morally indifferent bureaucrats, concerned with techniques and effectiveness, and careerists and functionaries seeking to impress superiors with their ability to get the job done. These people quickly adjusted to the routine of mass murder" (842). The following eyewitness account is given to support Perry's contention,

> ...engineers from Topf and Sons experimented with different combinations of corpses, deciding that the most economical and fuel-saving procedures would be to burn the bodies of a well-nourished man and an emaciated women or vice versa together with that of a child, because, as the experiments had established, in this combination, once they had caught fire, the dead would continue to burn without any further coke being required (842).

Several other equally horrifying accounts punctuate this text. Rudolf Hoess, the commandant at Auschwitz, is quoted saying, "It took between three and fifteen minutes to kill people in the death chamber, depending upon climatic conditions. We knew when the people were dead because they stopped screaming (841). A disturbing photograph of emaciated survivors is also included in this section of the text (840). Once again, the authors indicate the Allies did nothing to aid the victims (841). The language of this text is morally charged and stark. The authors describe the crematoria as "vomiting black smoke" (841) and speak of the

stench of excrement and burning flesh (841). They describe the concentration camps as "another planet" (841).

The text offers readers a rich array of supplemental readings including Hilberg's monumental work, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1967), and Wiesel's, *Night (1960)*, the personal account of Wiesel's survival at Auschwitz. Included in a set of review questions for students are two with specific reference to the Holocaust and a general question regarding the legacy of WWII. Alone, these authors raise the greater question of the meaning of the Holocaust for civil societies in the modern era when they say at the end of this section, "Written into the history of Western civilization was an episode that would forever cast doubt on the Enlightenment conception of human goodness, rationality, and the progress of our civilization" (843). This text offers students a fine review of this inhuman episode of our recent history.

0034 Spielvogel. 1991. *Western Civilization*

Far from the pages of *Western Civilization* (Spielvogel 1991) that deal with the subject of the Holocaust (987-990) is a brief paragraph on page 1022 on the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials which speaks of the continuing efforts by the present German government to prosecute Nazi war criminals. The text also comments on the remunerations given to Israel and to Holocaust survivors as efforts to compensate for "the unspeakable sorrow that occurred in the name of Germany" (1022). In the actual Holocaust section of this text is a photograph of Jews massed on the railway platform at Auschwitz (988) and a boxed insert of its Commandant's testimony regarding the design and effectiveness of crematoria equipment. The comments of a French doctor describing the horrors of the gassing (989) are also included.

Spielvogel's text emphasizes the determination of the Nazis to locate and transport all of the Jews of Europe to concentration camps and to their eventual death (988). It notes that such was the importance of the eradication of Jewry to Hitler and Nazi ideology that the military

argument against the extermination of Jews who might otherwise have produced arms was overridden (989). The final paragraph in the section addresses itself to what Spielvogel calls, 'another Holocaust,' that is, "... the death by shooting, starvation, or overwork of at least another 9 to 10 million people...The leading elements of the "subhuman" Slavic peoples-the clergy, intelligentsia, civil leaders, judges and lawyers-were arrested and deliberately killed" (990). He further says, "Probably an additional 4 million Poles, Ukrainians, and Belorussians lost their lives as slave laborers for Nazi Germany. Finally, probably at least 3-4 million Soviet prisoners of war were killed in captivity" (990). The true dimensions of the Nazi death machine are made starkly and manifestly clear by Spielvogel. Among the eleven bibliographic references which accompany the Holocaust material in this book, Spielvogel includes, *The Forgotten Holocaust: The Poles Under German Occupation, 1939-44* (Lukas 1986), which follows up this theme. The Lukas volume serves to highlight the questions that surround the contemporary debate about the "uniqueness" of the Holocaust as a Jewish event.

0035 Winks et al. 1988. *A History of Civilization.*

The haunting face of Michelangelo's *David* with all it says about the triumph of culture and man's trials and sorrows graces the front cover of *A History of Civilization* (Winks et al. 1988), the last book to be examined in this study. The photograph of a corpse filled pit at Bergen-Belsen (799) and the boxed insert describing in detail the similar murder of Jewish victims at open pits in Dubno (799), where 1,500 naked and terrified people were killed daily, seems more than 799 pages away from that cover. The accompanying testimony of a German engineer ends with a description of the man who was doing the killing at the time of his visit to Dubno on October 5, 1942. He says, "I looked for the man who did the shooting. He was an S.S. man, who sat at the edge of the narrow end of the pit, his feet dangling into the pit. He had a

tommy-gun on his knees and was smoking a cigarette..." (799). The testimony is preceded by a brief note describing these "shooting sprees" as "routine events" and ones in which Ukrainian guards played an active role in maintaining order (799). Oddly enough, this text then refers to the unreliability of numbers when it comes to determining the number of Jewish victims of the Holocaust suggesting that 3-4 million, rather than the generally accepted estimate of 6 million, Jewish lives were lost in the *Shoah*. It is the only text, however, to state that countries receiving Jewish immigrants benefitted by their acceptance and that "...the diaspora of the Jews would enrich new societies in ways that the racist theories of Hitler could never have imagined" (800).

In a brief paragraph, the authors note that future generations will ask why no help was forthcoming from any quarter including the concentration camp inmates themselves (800). While the failure of outside groups to aid camp inmates has come under scrutiny in some of the texts in this study, the latter reference to the failure of camp inmates to aid themselves seems unfortunate and misplaced. It suggests to the student that these camp victims lacked the courage to challenge their oppressors. No reference is made to the revolts at Sobibor, Lodz, Auschwitz-Birkenau or other concentration camps throughout Europe (Gilbert 1985). Speaking about "uprisings" as examples of helping oneself, this textbook poses a very narrow picture of resistance. As Wiesel (1960) and Levi (1958) point out in their brilliant narratives, there were many forms of inmate resistance expressed in the camps. Their books describe inmates who daily struggled to both survive and maintain their humanity during the long night of their captivity.

There is a single sentence in *A History of Civilization* under "The Cold War Begins" which refers to the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials (805). It gives no details about the Trial's consequences for Nazi perpetrators or society. No further readings on the subject of the Holocaust are recommended in this text. Despite the inclusion of the aforementioned horrifying

photograph, this text is brief and factual in its tone. It raises, without addressing them, important questions about the meaning of the Holocaust for the contemporary student.

Conclusion

In keeping with general expectations, the detailed content analysis above demonstrates that students enrolled in a course in Western Civilization are more likely to encounter an informative and meaningful account of the Holocaust and its legacy for Jews, European society and western civilization than are students enrolled in American history, political science or sociology survey courses. Most of the western civilization texts reviewed for this project included multiple paragraphs on the subject of the Holocaust, illustrative photographs, eyewitness accounts, and useful bibliographies to assist readers in understanding the determination of the Nazi effort to make Europe "Jew Free." Where the authors of these tomes offer a comprehensive review of the Holocaust period, they generally take a strong moral stance against the Nazis. They also raise a wide variety of moral and ethical questions about the enthusiasm with which the Germans and other Eastern European nationals embraced, executed and celebrated "the final solution." They do not spare the Allies in their condemnation of the general failure of the leadership of the democratic Western states to use their legislative and military power to assist millions of victims
of Nazi violence.

In both their coverage of the *Shoah* and their outrage at Allied indifference to the suffering of Jews and other 'unwanted groups,' world historians are followed by their kin in American history who do a fairly credible job of recounting the factors that influenced, and

consequences of, the Roosevelt Administration's fateful decision not to disrupt the relentless pursuit of Jewish extermination by the Nazis.

Yet this project also reveals that college students can complete survey courses in both world and American history with only a minimal confrontation with the Holocaust, and then often in the form of a troubling photograph which may or may not gain their attention. Of the two groups of history texts reviewed here, only *A History of Modern Europe* (Merriman 1996), had a map which identified the location of some of the concentration camps which made up the bureaucratic manufacturing of mass death (1261). Since very few camps are specifically named and their location generally undisclosed, students are left to assume that such notorious camps such as Auschwitz-Birkenau, Treblinka, Sobibor, and Terezin, to name but a few, are in Germany. No text speaks specifically about the bizarre nature of the Nazi camp at Terezin nor the failure of the Red Cross to convey the realities of the camps to the Allies. However, most western civilization texts do note some specific activities on the part of the Allies, the Vatican, the Swiss and other governments which aided in the destruction process. Very little space in any of these books is devoted to the horrors perpetrated on Europe's Gypsies, Poles, or Nazi prisoners of war. Few texts also bother to make connections between WWII, camp and occupation experiences, widespread population displacement due to shifting borders, and contemporary ethnic relations in Central Eastern Europe. Little coverage is given in these texts to Nazi anti-Semitic propaganda and the role played by popular culture in the promotion of the racist policies of the Nazis.

Since the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials paved the way for today's prosecution of perpetrators of 'crimes against humanity' in Rwanda and Bosnia, it is surprising that so few of these recently published texts mention the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials. Where the Nuremberg Trials are mentioned, they are given such superficial treatment that students are left to conclude

that the perpetrators of the Holocaust were found guilty and that justice and humanity were served. Further reading about the consequences of the Trials reveals that was not the case.

By comparison with world and American history texts, the political science and sociology texts in this project are shockingly inadequate in their treatment of the Holocaust. In lines devoted to the subject, content, tone, photographs, and references, they are shallow in their coverage and raise or answer few questions for students who should emerge from these courses with a greater appreciation of the scope of the Nazi threat to human rights and democratic ideals. The political science texts examined here do a slightly better job than do the sociology texts in providing substantive informative on the Holocaust, but they generally fail to address the issues of sovereignty, legitimacy, ideology, international tribunals, treaties, and State and human rights that should concern political scientists writing about WWII. *Understanding Politics* (1993) was the exception to this general rule. It briefly surveyed the roots of Nazi ideology and the events of the War in addition to introducing a variety of philosophical models to aid student understanding of the Holocaust.

Sadly enough, my own discipline, sociology, did the poorest job of all in presenting the issues and events of the Holocaust to students. The science of the study of social structure, solidarity, interaction and change seems to have abandoned its responsibility to confront the Holocaust. Only one sociology text of the group examined made the connection between the Holocaust and Milgram's classic, and still controversial, study of the dynamics of "Obedience." No one linked Zimbardo's "Stanford Prison Experiment" (1973) with the escalation of German, kapo, and inmate violence witnessed in the camps. Most sociology texts failed to make use of the findings of *The Authoritarian Personality* (Adorno et al. 1950) as a way of explaining popular support for Nazi policies. The dynamics of camp life and the "moral indifference" of the perpetrators of the Holocaust are clearly important subject matter for sociological analysis.

That none of the books reviewed here had so much as a boxed insert addressing some of these issues baffles and disturbs me.

Chapters on racial and ethnic minorities and discriminatory responses to 'difference' are the areas in sociology survey texts which directly address extermination policies. In this collection of books, the experience of Native Americans is generally offered as the historic example of genocide. Chapters on political ideology, Weber's typology of authority and legitimacy, particularly the nature and use of charismatic authority, made only the briefest references to the mesmerizing rhetoric of Hitler. Sociology texts generally failed to use the rise and fall of Hitler's Reich as an arena for theoretical analysis of the amoral nature of bureaucracy. Why are chapters on social structure and social interaction, the dynamics of social movements, and the use and abuse of science and technology so silent on the subject of the Holocaust?

The sociology texts reviewed here are very similar, highly routinized, volumes which do not explore the Holocaust in reference to the dilemma of maintaining democratic values in a pluralistic, technologically advanced, society. As a group, these books failed to take advantage of the Holocaust as a way of understanding the link between social structure and social consciousness. They did not deal in any meaningful way with Weber's theorizing, and pessimism, about the potential consequences of increasing rationalization and bureaucracy in advanced societies. Yet the circumstances of the Holocaust are the very grounds for asking the classic sociological question, "How is society possible?"

Although my study differs slightly from Pate's (1987) in its methodological approach to analyzing the presentation of the Holocaust in American college textbooks, it confirms his conclusion that this watershed event in human history receives generally inadequate exploration. The scope of the tragedy, the varieties of victims and perpetrators, the forces which conspired against the victims and the valiant spirit which inspired rescue efforts receive scant coverage.

As a group, these books also fail to link the current problems of ethnic minorities in Central Eastern European to the events and consequences of WWII. Recent disclosures about Nazi gold, stolen art works, the role of the Vatican in assisting Nazis criminals to escape trial for War Crimes, bitter debates about the legitimacy of Christian religious symbolism at Auschwitz, and the growth of such anti-Semitic media as Poland's popular *Radio Mariye*, demonstrate that our textbooks must do a better job relating factual information about, and the moral significance and challenge of, the Holocaust for our students. How can we ask or expect students to remember that which their texts fail to say?

Further Research

My original Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminar Abroad project was to be an analysis of the presentation of the Holocaust in Polish and Hungarian highschool textbooks. I was eager to see how these books treated this Jewish and European tragedy in both the Soviet and post-Soviet periods. For a variety of complicated reasons, I was unable to secure the necessary materials for the project and proceeded to take advantage of my experience in both Poland and Hungary to follow-up Pate's study (1987) of the presentation of the Holocaust in American college textbooks.

I remain keenly interested in pursuing my original project with the assistance of colleagues here and abroad. I would like to take advantage of the unique collection of textbooks available at the George Eckert Institute for International Schoolbook Research (Georg-Eckert-Institut fur Internationale Schulbuchforschung) in Braunschweig, Germany, which has the largest schoolbook library in the world, to extend my research to other European nations.

It appears that little analysis of European "revision" of Holocaust history has been done to date. Since my own study of American college textbooks reveals the inadequacy of our current textbook coverage of the *Shoah*, I wonder what European youngsters are being taught and are cautioned to remember about the Holocaust. Given the outbreak of ethnic and religious violence in much of the world today, this study of college textbooks raises troubling questions about the consequences of our failure to explore the dynamics and consequences of the genocidal policies of the Nazis during WWII.

APPENDIX A

SOCIOLOGY TEXTS

0001 Applebaum, Richard P. and William J. Chambliss. 1995. *Sociology*. NY: HarperCollins College Publishers.

0002 Brinkerhoff, David B, Lynn K. White and Suzanne T. Ortega. 1999. *Essentials of Sociology*. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

0003 Hess, Beth B., Elizabeth W. Markson and Peter J. Stein. 1993. *Sociology*. 4th ed. NY: MacMillan Publishing Company.

0004 Kendall, Diana. 1999. *Sociology in Our Times*. 2nd ed. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

0005 Renzetti, Claire M., and Daniel J. Curran. 1998. *Living Sociology* Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

0006 Schaefer, Richard T. and Robert P. Lamm. 1998. *Sociology*. 6th ed. NY: McGraw-Hill Inc.

0007 Shepard, Jon M. 1999. *Sociology*. 7th ed. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

0008 Thio, Alex. 1996. *Sociology*. 4th ed. NY: HarperCollins College Publishers.

APPENDIX B

POLITICAL SCIENCE TEXTS

0009 Cantor, Robert D. 1986. *Contemporary International Politics.* St. Paul: West Publishing Company.

0010 Gamble, John King, Zachary T. Irwin, Charles M. Redenius and James W. Weber. 1992. *Introduction to Political Science.* Englewood Cliffs: Simon and Schuster.

0011 Isaak, Alan. 1987. *An Introduction to Politics.* Glenview: Scott, Foresman & Co.

0012 Jackson, Robert J. and Doreen Jackson. 1997. *A Comparative Introduction to Political Science.* Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall.

0013 Lawson, Kay. 1993. *The Human Polity.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

0014 Magstadt, Thomas M. and Peter M. Schotten. 1993. *Understanding Politics.* NY: St. Martin's Press.

0015 Riemer, Neal. and Douglas W. Simon. 1991. *The New World of Politics.* Alta Loma: Collegiate Press.

0016 Roskin, Michael, Robert L. Cord, James A. Medeiros and Walter S. Jones. 1997. *Political Science.* Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall.

0017 Shively, W. Phillips. 1993. *Power and Choice.* 3rd ed. NY: Mc-Graw Hill Inc.

0018 Van Dyke, Vernon. 1992. *Introduction to Politics.* 2nd ed. Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers.

APPENDIX C

AMERICAN HISTORY TEXTS

0019 Bernhard, Virginia, David Burner, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and John McClymer. 1993. *Firsthand America*. St. James: Brandywine Press.

0020 Boyer, Paul. 1995. *Promises to Keep*. Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company.

0021 Henretta, James A., W. Elliot Brownlee, David Brody and Susan Ware. 1993. *America's History*. NY: Worth Publishers.

0022 Lafeber, Walter. 1989. *The American Age*. NY: Norton and Company.

0023 Norton, Mary Beth, David M. Katzman, Paul D. Escott, Howard P. Chudacoff, Thomas G. Paterson and William M. Tuttle. 1994. *A People and a Nation*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

0024 Paterson, Thomas G., J. Garry Clifford, and Kenneth Hagan. 1988. *American Foreign Policy*. Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company.

0025 Roark, James L., Michael P. Johnson, Patricia Cline Cohen, Sarah Stage, Alan Lawson and Susan M. Hartmann 1998. *The American Promise*. Boston: Bedford Books.

0026 Schaller, Michael, Virginia Scharff and Robert D. Schulzinger. 1996. *Present Tense*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

0027 Tindall, George Brown and David Shi. 1996. *America: A Narrative History*. NY: Norton and Company.

APPENDIX D

WORLD HISTORY TEXTS

0028 Chambers, Mortimer, Raymond Grew, David Herlihy, Theodore K. Rabb and Isser Woloch. 1991. *The Western Experience*. 5th ed. NY: McGraw-Hill Inc.

0029 Greaves, Richard L., Robert Zaller, and Jennifer Tolbert Roberts. 1992. *Civilizations of the West*. NY: HarperCollins Publishers.

0030 McKay, John P., Bennett Hill and John Buckler. 1991. *A History of Western Society*. 4th ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

0031 Merriman, John. 1996. *A History of the Modern Europe*. NY: W. W. Norton & Co.

0032 Palmer, R. R. and Joel Colton. 1992. *A History of the Modern World*. 7th ed. NY: McGraw-Hill Inc.

0033 Perry, Marvin, Myrna Chase, James R. Jacob, Margaret C. Jacob and Theodore H. Von Laue. 1996. *Western Civilization*. 5th ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

0034 Spielvogel, Jackson J. 1991. *Western Civilization*. St. Paul: West Publishing Company.

0035 Winks, Robin W., Crane Brinton, Jonh B.Christopher and Robert Lee Wolff. 1988. *A History of Civilization*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

APPENDIX E

Analysis of Survey Questionnaire

SOC.	# of LINE	SEP. PAR	NON-JEWS	WHO RESP	PRE-WAR OPP.	PICS	CAMP	GEN/ HOL.	QUE/ ACT	NUR. TR.	READINGS	TONE	P/H	HERO
0001	13	yes	2	Germ Gov.	no	no	no	G/H	no	no	yes	fact	P	
0002	0													
0003	0													
0004	13	yes	no	Nazi	2	no	no	G	no	no	yes	crit	P	
0005	5	no	1	Hitler	no	no	no	G	no	no	no	fact		
0006	40	yes	no	Germ	no	no	no	G/H	no	no	yes	fact		O.S.
0007	0													
0008														
PS														
0009	0													
0010	0													
0011	0													
0012	0													
0013	13	yes	no	Hitler	no	no	no	G	no	no	no	fact		O.S.
0014	33	yes	no	Hitler	no	yes	no	H	no	no	no	crit		
0015	17	yes	no	Hitler	no	no	no	H	no	no	no	crit		
0016	67	yes	7	Hitler	30	yes	Aus.	H	no	no	no	fact		Frank
0017	0													
0018	33	yes	1	Hitler	no	no	Dac. Aus	G/H	no	no	no	fact		

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

AH	# of LINE	SEP. PAR	NON-JEWS	WHO RESP	PRE-WAR OPP.	PICS	CAMP	GEN/ HOL.	QUE/ ACT	NUR TR.	READINGS	TONE	P/H	HERO
0019	96	yes	yes	Hitler	yes	no	no	G/H	no	no	no	fact & crit		
0020	22	yes	no	Nazi	no	no	Aus.	G/H	no	no	no	crit		
0021	36	yes	1	Hitler	no	yes	Buch. Dac. Aus.	H	no	no	yes	crit		
0022	89	yes	no	Hitler	no	no	Buch. Dac.	H	no	no	no	crit		
0023	89	yes	1	Nazi	3	yes	B-Bel. Aus	H	no	no	no	crit	P	
0024	175	yes	no	Nazi	6	yes	Dac. Buch. Aus.	H	no	yes	no	fact & crit	P& H	
0025	114	yes	no	Nazi	no	no	Aus. Buch.	H	no	no	no	fact & crit	P	
0026	53	yes	no	Nazi	no	yes	B-Bel.	H	no	no	no	fact & apol.		
0027	32	yes	no	Nazi	no	yes	Aus. Wob.	G/H	no	no	no	fact		

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

WH	# of LINE	SEP PAR	NON-JEWS	WHO RESP	PRE-WAR OPP	PICS	CAMP	GEN/ HOL	QUE/ ACT	NUR HR	READINGS	TONE	P/H	HERO
0028	142	yes	10	Nazi	31	yes	Aus. Dac. Buch. Land.	H	no	yes	no	fact & crit		
0029	160	yes	26	Hitler	no	yes	Aus.	G/H	no	no	yes	fact & crit	P	Weil
0030	58	yes	20	Hitler	no	yes	Aus	no	no	no	yes	fact	P	
0031	167	yes	15	Hitler	15	yes	Aus	H	no	no	yes	crit	P	Danes Dutch
0032	10	yes	no	Nazi	no	no	Aus Dau	H	no	no	yes	fact	P	
0033	295	yes	1	Nazi	no	yes	Aus.	G	yes	no	yes	crit	P	Scholls Poles Ukran Yugo French Danish Wars Up
0034	161	yes	10	Hitler	15	yes	Aus.	H	no	yes	yes	fact		Wars Up
0035	57	yes	4	Nazi	no	yes	Aus. B-Bel. Buch. Dac. Nord. Maut. Dubno	G/H	no	yes	no	fact	P	

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